1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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responsible for the adult defence mechanism of rigidity and caution. However, one of the well-known characteristics of the Egyptian fellah is his stubbornness, obstinacy and tenacity, which sometimes take the form of an obsession.

Connected with producing fear in the children is the violent and bad-tempered manner in which adults administer punishment to them. Punishment, however, may be in the form of fulminations or curses, or it may be corporal. As mentioned earlier, a father may curse his son by saying 'Curse on your father; a curse on your people; a curse on your origin (seed)', and so on. It seems that such curses have their effect on the children. A child of about nine years old told me that the curse of his parents, especially that of his mother, when she uncovers her head, is a thing which he tries to avoid; one cannot enter Paradise if one invokes one's parents' anger, and their blessings increase one's span of life. Punishment can also take the form of denouncing the boy as a girl, or condemning him as a homosexual, and also through depriving him of his food or his share of meat. On certain occasions, if the child shows reluctance to comply with, or to conform to, its elders' commands, they impugn one of its senses by expressing their disapproval or reproach in phrases such as, 'Aren't you listening?' 'Haven't you got eyes to see?' 'Are you blind?' 'Don't you smell?' 'Don't you feel?' 'Haven't you got blood?' Such phrases imply that the child should have done the accepted thing without being prompted, because he has only to make use of one of his senses. It is occasionally pointed out to the child that his jaw which uttered the words, or his hand that committed the offence, or his ears that heard the unpermissible, should be punished.

Corporal punishment is not uncommon either by beating, striking, whipping or slapping. Such punishment is inflicted upon the child normally after he has committed a serious misdemeanour, such as talking back at his parents while being rebuked, throwing stones at his mother, causing trouble with the neighbours' children, or on complaints being made against him by an older person. The child's ambivalent attitude towards its parents or uncles expresses itself in its appeal for their mercy when it is thrashed by one of them. He makes a screaming appeal, by crying out: 'O father, O father, by the name of the Prophet, O father', even if the father himself happens to be the one who is thrashing him.

The mother invariably gets the worst of the child's temper, aggression and disobedience, and consequently she is apt to administer punishment more frequently than the father. She is the parent with whom the child comes into active contact in terms of give and take. The child feels her punishing powers as he breaks things, loiters on being sent on an errand, loses money which he was given to buy things from the shop, or when he makes himself a nuisance when visitors are in the house, and similar other misdemeanours. Having more contacts with children's problems of up-bringing, the mother tends to be the target of their ambivalence; they

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CHILDREN'S TALES, THEIR TEXTS, ANALYSIS AND SIGNIFICANCE

Another tentative psychological explanation of fairy tales and folk tales in their social setting is advanced by Bartlett. He argues that the details and plots of such stories are usually derived from social customs and institutions. As social products, their psychological interest lies in ascertaining which of the three dominant tendencies of the instinctive social relationships, comradeship, assertiveness, and submissiveness, figure largely in them. In determining which of these instinctive tendencies takes first place in its expression in folklore, the cultural conditions and the external environment may be regarded as one of the most important factors. Thus in the folk tales, one could detect an expression of 'the preferred persistent social group tendencies' which could also be found in other fields of the same group's culture.[1]

Looking at these stories from such an angle, one can claim that the majority reflect 'assertive instinctive tendencies'. In story I the cock, which is the weakest of all the other animals mentioned, stands as the sole authority for information; in II the cock and the goat triumph over the donkey; in III the billy-goat asserts himself over the wolf; in V the cock (symbolizing the child) won the day with all those he dealt with; in VII the fox managed to laugh at the fisherman; in IX the boy succeeds in eloping with the chief's daughter; in X the nanny-goat scorches the wolf; in XI the scabby orphan boy asserts himself by having access to things which his uncle does not know and proves to be trickier than his uncle's wife; in XIV the poor boy and his sister get rid of their cousins who were richer and numerous; in the three Goha stories, XV, XVII, XVIII, the ridiculous and insignificant man asserts himself over his enemies and those who ridicule him. In story XVI he failed because of his profanity, for which he was deprived of his money.[2]

Following Bartlett's hypothesis, we find that the assertive instinctive tendencies loom large in most of these stories and could be regarded as 'the preferred response' in the group. This conclusion corresponds largely to our interpretations in the light of Kardiner's formulations. The weak, the insignificant, and the ordinary asserts its identity and becomes, through fantasy, as equivalent or even superior to the more fortunate and the more powerful. The link between 'assertiveness' as an over-reaction to an ego structure sensitive to being outdone or to feeling of inferiority is confirmed by the findings of clinical psychology.

In this connection, it is not without significance that one of the first phrases that the child learns to speak is 'May God curse your father', as a retort encouraged by his parents to anyone who may try to humiliate him.

[1] For F. C. Bartlett's views, I relied on the summary given in E. J. Lindgren, op. cit., pp. 358–66.

[2] In this connection the evidence from folklore and proverbs confirms Westermarck's observation that amongst the Moors God is always mentioned in a reverent manner. 'There is nothing of that familiarity or jocularity which is frequent in European sayings referring to Him, causing annoyance to puritanic writers.' *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, London, 1930, p. 31.

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882 functions and the impact of this standardization on the basic personality structure and social institutions.[1] In the light of this statement, the social disciplines connected with sexuality are relevant data, and according to Kardiner, of great significance in understanding the basic personality structure and in explaining partly the nature of primary institutions.

It seems that in Silwa the process of socialization is similar in many points to that amongst the Tallensi and the Samoans, with regard to the continuity of the inculcated social norms and the spheres of adult and child activities.[2] Unlike many Western societies, youth in Silwa do not express in their attitudes that sense of being torn between youthful autonomy and parental insistence on dependence. This problem does not seem to be disturbing to parents and would seem abhorrent to youth who like to demonstrate their allegiance to their family and clan. Even if such desire for autonomy is occasionally expressed by boys, who on disagreement with their parents desert them for some relatives in another village or go to town to work, this is considered to be the exception, and of course such a desertion can never be entertained by girls. The lack of such strong desire could be explained by the security the youth derives from his status in his family and his need to be married by his parents.

Psychologically, however, adolescent boys, and more so adolescent [157] girls, impressed the writer as being on the whole timid, apprehensive and withdrawn. These traits stand out more clearly if compared with children's groups. Attitudes of initiative, self-assertion and drive seem to be the exception in adolescent behaviour.[3] In attempting to account for such general characteristics, the writer does not claim them to be the negative phase of the adolescent stage. He attributes their striking appearance to the cumulative effect of the severe social disciplines, and especially those connected with sex. The maturing of sex functions at this stage is noted [831] with great embarrassment, shame and feeling of guilt by adolescents. As mentioned before, complete hush and excessive secrecy prevails over sexual matters among adolescents as well as adults. This seems to contrast sharply with free bodily gratification given to the infants. There is no word for masturbation in the villagers' dialect. Sexual pleasure of any kind outside the marriage tie is condemned by the text of the Koran, as mentioned earlier.

[834] Manifestations of this excessive repression and fear of sex are obvious in the veiling of adolescent girls and women and the hiding of the breast

[1] Richard T. Sollinberger, 'The Concept of Adolescence', in *The Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 36, 1939, pp. 600–1. A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*.

[2] For adolescence and puberty as treated in different societies, see also Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Chapter II.

[3] This is the writer's general impression and could only be substantiated by comprehensive recording of the behaviour of adolescents. According to Fortes, however, 'for most problems of social anthropology, variations are of minor importance as compared with the "typical". For problems of developmental psychology variations may be of the utmost importance.' *Patterns of Culture*, p. 8.

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

Thus a man normally of a quiet, gentle, and peaceful disposition may on the spur of the moment commit some brutal murder. One year when I was staying in a small, out-of-the-way village in Upper Egypt a man killed a neighbour in a terrible way because he had stolen some onions from his (the murderer's) field. The moment after he had committed the crime he was weeping over the body of his victim!

One of the besetting sins of the Egyptian *fellāḥīn* is jealousy, which often becomes such a raging passion that a jealous man or

FIG. 3. THE FACE OF " THE MOUNTAIN " AND ENTRANCES TO ANCIENT TOMB-CHAPELS

woman is rendered capable of committing any violent crime. The women are liable to be jealous of one another's children, the wives about their husbands, the men of each other's prosperity or position, and so on to an endless degree. I do not wish to imply that jealousy is uncommon in other parts of the world, but I certainly think that it has a large share in the general make-up of the Egyptian character.

Again, the love of money tends to make them very avaricious, and is the cause of many serious troubles among them. On the other hand, they are capable of, and often actually perform, most generous actions, both in the giving of money and in the forgiveness of an injury. Quarrels between individuals, occasionally very violent ones, are common in the villages, but if a judicious

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I said: With his own money!
They said: He eats sweets —
I said: May they agree with him!
They said: He is ill-natured —
I said: Who has laid hold of him?
Be gone, you jealous creatures,
And cease your talk!
Unless you do, you will learn that his glance
Vanquishes everyone who lays hold of him!

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3. He is an effeminate fop! The dyeing of certain portions of the hands and feet, with the leaves of the henna shrub (Lawsonia inermis), customary among the women and children, is considered, when practiced by men, a sign of effeminacy.

5. He is a dandy.

7. He has a sweet-tooth.

10. That is to say: Who provoked him? He must have had cause for being unpleasant. Maḥmûd interpreted this line as: "min fikum misik fi" that is to say, "Which of you has laid hold of him."